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URARTIAN BRONZES IN ETRUSCAN TOMBS

By K. R. MAXWELL-HYSLOP

OBJECTS showing strong oriental influence in the large Etruscan tombs have been studied by many distinguished scholars writing over a long period of years and from many different standpoints—by Karo as a classical archaeologist and Lehmann-Haupt as an authority on Armenia, followed by Randall MacIver, Poulsen, Kunze, Schachermeyr, Herzfeld, Pareti, Curtis and Hanfmann. Nor must the pioneer work of Herzfeld on Urartu and Etruria be forgotten¹. Among the many Italian scholars working in the wider field of Etruscan studies we are especially indebted to the work of Giglioli, Minto and Pallottino. But certain basic problems still remain to be solved and in the light of the recent invaluable studies by Barnett on Urartian metalwork we can hope that an approach from a purely oriental angle may be able to make a new contribution to answering these questions, and may possibly supplement the suggestions concerning the chronology of these tombs recently published by Professor Hawkes².

A study of the bronze, silver and ivory objects of probably oriental origin should help us to answer the following questions:

- (1) Were they made in Italy or in Asia and imported into Italy?
- (2) For what purpose were they made?
- (3) If they were imported into Italy, by what route did they arrive?
- (4) If they were imported, can one distinguish local copies?
- (5) When were they made and by whom?

In this paper certain suggestions will be put forward concerning some of

[I would like to express my thanks to all those who have helped me in writing this study, and especially to Mr. R. D. Barnett, Keeper of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities in the British Museum, and Professor Luisa Banti of the University of Florence; also to Professor Sidney Smith and Professor M. E. L. Mallowan, to Mr. Ward Perkins, Director of the British School at Rome, to Professor Bartocchini, Director of the Villa Giulia Museum, to my colleagues at the Institute of Archaeology, and to the University of London authorities who enabled me to visit Italy with a grant from the Central Research Fund.]

¹ It is unnecessary to give here a comprehensive bibliography and only important studies which are particularly relevant to this article will be noted.

G. Karo, *Orient und Hellas in archaischer Zeit* (*Athenische Mitteilungen*, XLV, 1920).

Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien Einst und Jetzt*, 2 Vols., 1910, 1926, 1931.

Randall MacIver, *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, 1924.

Poulsen, *Die Orient und Frühgriechische Kunst*, 1912.

Kunze, *Die Kretische Bronze reliefs*, 1931.

Kunze, *Verkannter orientalischer Kesselschmuck aus dem Argivischen Heraion*, *Reinecke Festschrift*, 1950.

Herzfeld, *Khattische und Khaldische Bronzen*, *Janus I* (*Lehmann-Haupt Festschrift*), 1921.

Pareti, *La tomba Regolini Galassi*, 1947.

Curtis, *The Bernardini tomb*, *Memories of the American Academy in Rome*, Vol. III.

Curtis, *The Barberini tomb*, *Memories of the American Academy in Rome*, Vol. V.

Hanfmann, *Altetruskische Plastik*.

Pallottino, *Gli scavi di Karmir-blur in Armenia in Archaeologica Classica VII*, 2, 1955. Unfortunately this only reached England as my article was going to press.

² C. F. C. Hawkes, *From Bronze Age to Iron Age: Middle Europe, Italy and the Northwest and West in Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 1948, 196; also in *Atti del Primo Congresso di Preistoria e Protostoria Mediterranea*, Florence, 1950, 262.

the bronzes, leaving the ivories and silver work to be studied in future articles. Professor Sidney Smith in his important study written in 1942 suggested an answer to the third question and put this problem in its historical setting¹. He stressed the importance of the trade route Van-Carchemish-Al Mina on the Syrian coast-Rhodes-Corinth-Italy and pointed out that there is no sign of Phoenician influence on certain types of bronzes such as the bronze handle attachments for buckets or cauldrons (made in the form of birds with human busts and heads) whose distribution ranges from Urartu in Armenia to Vetulonia and Praeneste in Italy, with examples from Rhodes, Delphi and Olympia. It is generally accepted that the examples of this type found in Asia are Urartian, and that most of the Aegean examples are copies by Greek workmen of the Vannic originals, but what of the Etrurian examples? And are there other objects in the Etruscan tombs which can be linked up with Urartu or other parts of Western Asia and could provide more evidence for the existence of the N. Syrian trade mentioned above or even suggest other means of contact? Pl. XXVI, 4, shows the bronze siren figure from one of the Vetulonia cauldrons now in the Florence Museum which can be compared with advantage to the Vannic examples. Pl. XXVI, 1, 2, is a double-headed siren figure from Van now in the collection of the Marquis de Vogué to whom I am grateful for permission to publish the photograph here². Kunze, who in 1931 listed all the then known examples of these figures from Asia and the Aegean, gives eight examples from Van, and Pl. XXVI, 3, is another, which, although found in Greece must have been imported from Van³, and is closely comparable to the Vetulonian siren. All these examples have the same engraved triangular pattern across the base of the neck which seems to be a peculiarly Urartian feature. Another pair similar to the Vetulonia siren figures which also has the same triangular decoration is found on the bronze cauldron in the Bernardini tomb⁴. All these examples from Italy fit closely over the flat edges of the cauldron and must have been made to fit the particular vessel to which they are attached. It is most unlikely that they were imported separately, as has been suggested. In fact both the Vetulonia and Bernardini female sirens cannot be closely compared to the Greek series and must be regarded as the products of an Urartian bronze worker. The bearded male siren figure on the second Vetulonia cauldron (Pl. XXXIII, 4, 5) is also executed in an Urartian style; he can be compared to a bronze Urartian figure, and his curious curved helmet, a type

¹ *The Greek trade at Al Mina*, in *A.J.*, XXII (1942), 87.

² I am also indebted to Mr. Barnett who gave me the photographs published in Pl. XXVI, 1, 2, and to Professor Banti for Pl. XXVI, 3, 4.

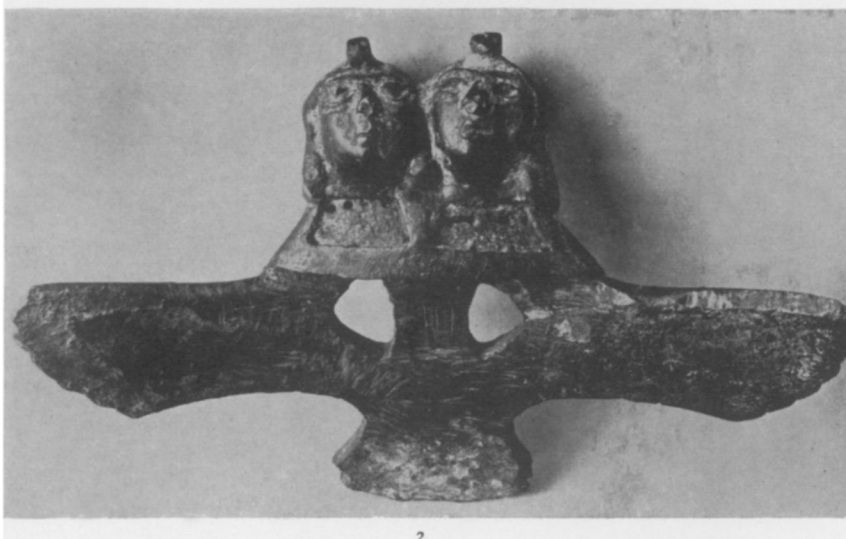
³ See Bossert, *Altanatolien*, no. 1167, 1168. Here the provenance is given as Van, but see *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 12, 1888, pl. 12, and 380,

where the original account of the discovery of a cauldron ornamented with this siren figure is given. See also Kunze, *op. cit.*, 1950, 100, for additions to his list.

⁴ Curtis, *op. cit.*, III, pl. 54, 1. See also Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Art in Assyria*, 172, fig. 91, from Van with triangular decoration.



I



2



3



4

- 1, 2. Winged figure with two heads, which originally ornamented a cauldron. Bronze. 37 cm. across wings. From Van. Collection of the Marquis de Vogué. (Paris.)
 3. Head of a winged figure. Bronze. Height 7 cms. From Greece. Ptoion.
 4. Head of a winged figure attached to a cauldron. Bronze. From Vetulonia. Florence, Archaeological Museum.

sometimes worn by Assyrian soldiers, is found on the reliefs from T. Halaf in North Syria¹.

Now let us consider the cauldron with the lion and griffin heads on its stand from the Barberini tomb (Plates XXVII–XXIX) at Praeneste². Similar stands made of hammered sheets of bronze are also found in the Regolini Galassi and Bernardini tombs and these enormous objects, standing about 3–4 feet high, are known in Etruria in terracotta. Apart from other evidence the large number of terracotta stands suggest that local potters were imitating a rare metal prototype and that it was not possible to produce bronze examples in



Fig. 1.

any quantity—presumably not through lack of the raw material but through a lack of competent craftsmen. The Urartian origin of the Barberini bronze cauldron stand and the separate cauldron which it supports was first suggested by Herzfeld and there is much evidence to support his view. The Assyrian relief from Khorsabad (Fig. 1) showing Sargon's soldiers bearing away similar stands with cauldrons from the temple of Musasir which was sacked in 714 B.C. and the references to the quantities of large bronze vessels which occur in the

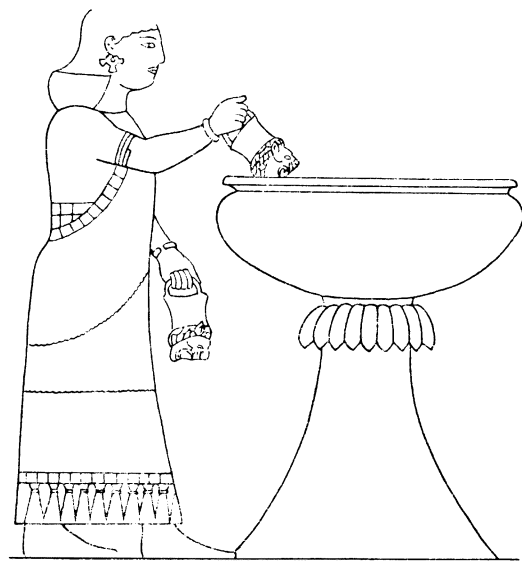


Fig. 2.

description of Sargon's colossal booty from the temple are well known³. Fig. 2 shows another representation of a cauldron and stand from Khorsabad in use in a ritual scene. It is also shown on the reliefs from Karatepe in S.E. Turkey⁴. Certainly this type of large stand supporting a cauldron is at home in Western Asia; we find it on the Balawat gates showing the booty from Carchemish captured by Shalmaneser III in 858 B.C. (Fig. 3) and it was known in Palestine as late as Sennacherib's reign (705–681 B.C.). This is a rather different type from the Khorsabad examples; it has

¹ *Iraq*, XII, Pt. 1 (1950), Pl. XVIII, 2. See Tell Halaf, III Taf. 17 for the helmet; also a statuette in the Perugia Museum. Calzoni, *Il Museo preistorico dell' Italia Centrale*, 57. A male siren is also known from Olympia, Fürtwangler, *Olympia*, IV, pl. XLIV, 783, and is probably also of Urartian workmanship.

² The Barberini tomb was discovered in 1855 and we know very little about the actual excavation or the circumstances of its finding. But the early accounts of this collection of objects suggest that while the objects now in the Villa Giulia Museum

probably all belong to the same tomb, there may have been objects which are now dispersed. No pottery has been preserved, and it is unfortunate that some of the bronzes have been restored in such a way that it is difficult now to recognise the modern additions.

³ F. Thureau-Dangin, *Une relation de la huitième campagne de Sargon*.

⁴ Bossert, Çambel, etc., *Karatepe Kazıları*, Ankara, 1950, pl. XII.

a tall moulded base and is portrayed on the relief showing Assyrian soldiers carrying away spoil from Lachish (Fig. 4).

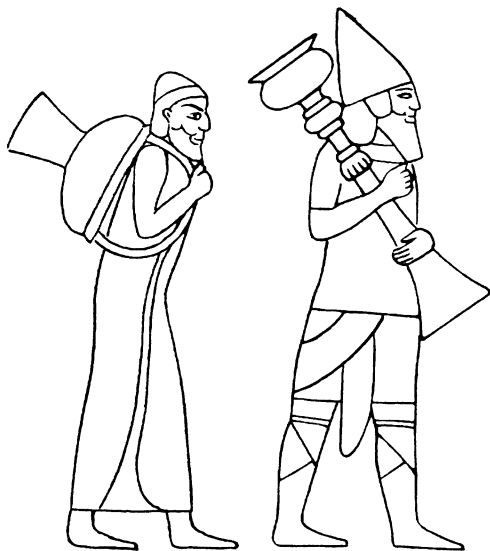


Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

Other reliefs of Sennacherib's reign showing the booty captured in his campaigns in Babylonia portray cauldrons and stands like the Khorsabad examples (Fig. 5) and also separate large cauldrons presumably intended to stand on a separate base or tripod. An actual Urartian example of this type of cauldron (with bulls' heads and tripod stand) has been found at Altin Tepe near Erzincan¹ and the discovery provides important additional evidence for the view that the cauldrons with lion and griffin heads attached, found in Etruria in the Barberini tomb, in the Bernardini tomb and at Vetulonia, must all be of Urartian manufacture. These examples of cauldrons are all enormous

with diameters of 0.72 m (Altin Tepe), 0.65 m and 0.55 m (Vetulonia), 0.68 m (Barberini) and about 0.67 m (Bernardini). In this latter tomb a smaller

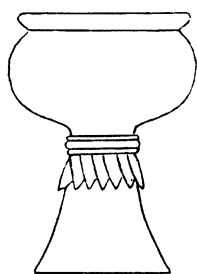


Fig. 5.

cauldron and tripod stand, with bulls' feet of Urartian type and comparable to the Altin Tepe example, was also found². But to return to the Barberini cauldron and its stand. If we can regard the type as Urartian in origin, why was it exported to Italy and at what period? It is important to remember that metal cauldron stands such as the Barberini example are unknown in Italy at any earlier period. Leaving aside the numerous terracotta copies, the only comparable type in Italy are the much earlier large ritual terracotta cauldrons and stands from Cozzo del Pantano and Pantalica in Sicily.

which may be copying unknown metal prototypes. But the Barberini cauldron and stand must have had some important ritual use and in this connection both the decoration of the base and the animals on the cauldron must be considered. The base, which is hollow, is decorated with a winged monster whose face has been compared by Barnett to that of the king on the Urpalla relief at

¹ Barnett and Gökçe, *The find of Urartian bronzes at Altintepe near Erzincan* in *A.S.*, III, 53 ff. See also Pallottino, *op. cit.* Tav. XLIX, 2, for a similar cauldron with bulls' heads from Cumae now in Copenhagen.

² For Vetulonia see *Notizie Scavi* 1913, figs. 7 & 8, 431 f and fig. 14. For the Bernardini cauldron see Curtis, *op. cit.*, III, pl. 52, and pl. 49 for the smaller cauldron and tripod. Von Vacano, *Die Etrusker*, 1955, pl. 89, shows this after cleaning.



1

1. Cauldron ornamented with two griffins and two lion heads and stand. Bronze. Stand, total height 86 cm. diameter of base 60.2 cm. Cauldron, height, 44 cm. Inside diameter of rim 50 cm. From Praeneste, Barberini tomb, Rome. Villa Giulia Museum. Photo Alinari.

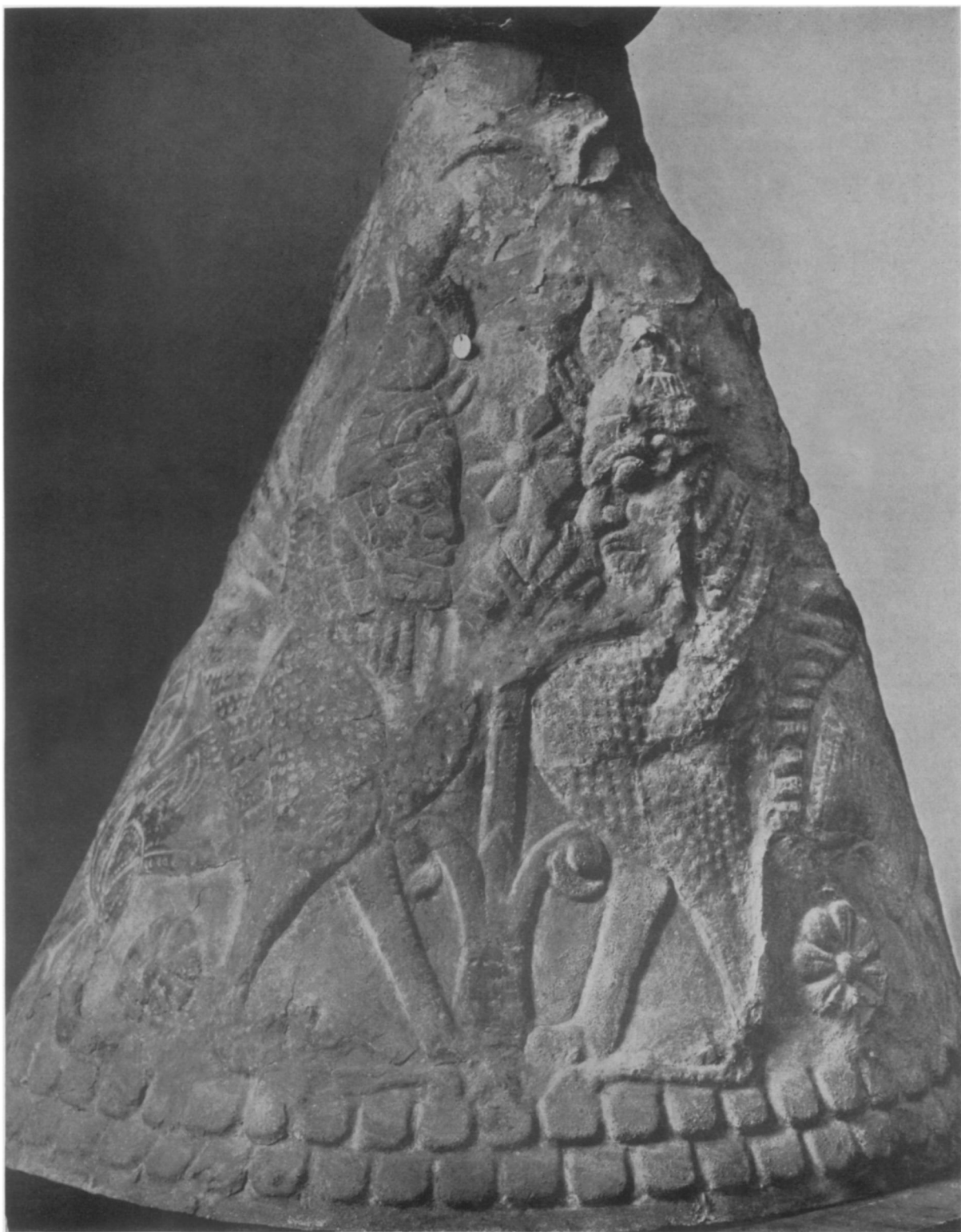


2

2. Detail of griffin protome. Height from lowest point of base to top of head 27 cm.



Detail of cauldron base. Bronze. From Praeneste, Barberini tomb.



Detail of cauldron base. Bronze. From Praeneste, Barberini tomb.



1. Relief of King Urpalla. Ivriz.



2. Relief from Tell Halaf. British Museum.

Ivriz in the Taurus¹ (Pl. XXX, 1). Now we know that king Urpalla, a prince of Tabal, paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser in 738 B.C. and the treatment of the faces of both the god and of the king on this relief, and the head of the Barberini monster, is undoubtedly the same. The god's name can be read, *Tarhund*, probably a Luvian weather god².

But there are other important points about the Barberini monster, aptly called a "lion sphinx" by Barnett, which must be discussed. First, the round knob on the top of the horned headdress is a feature found frequently on reliefs of the N. Syrian storm god Tešub; it occurs at Til Barsib and on the relief of Tešub found at Babylon and presumably carried there as booty, as well as at Zinjirli and at Carchemish on a human-headed sphinx³. Among many other examples a cylinder seal from Kirkuk⁴ may be mentioned, on which a bull man with this same knob on his headdress occurs with a two-headed griffin monster with bird's beak. This is worth remembering when considering the Barberini cauldron with the "lion sphinx" portrayed on the base and two pairs of griffins and lions attached to the cauldron above. We have then two features on the cauldron base which suggest a weather god—first the headdress with knob and secondly the facial resemblance to the Luvian god *Tarhund* on the Ivriz relief combined with the usual Asiatic horned headdress of a deity⁵.

Another typically Asiatic feature is the fact that while the hindquarters of the figure are those of a lion it has the breast feathers and wings of a bird, while the whole demands comparison with the winged bulls and lions of ninth century Assyrian reliefs. The treatment of the hindquarters, with the curious flame-shaped pattern discussed below and the exaggerated muscles and bones is comparable to that found on Assyrian bull colossi and sculptured lions from the ninth century onwards, whose prophylactic purpose is well documented. Writing of the "*šedu and lamassu*", erected each side of palace doorways, Gadd has concluded that "in all of these figures there is an obvious intention of combining the forces of all the predominant creatures so that they might be the more powerful to resist those adversaries whom it was their function to dispel from the places which they guarded"⁶. Presumably these

¹ Barnett, *Early Greek and Oriental Ivories*, J.H.S., 1948, 10.

² Gurney, *The Hittites*, 138, identifies the god *Tarhund* with the Etruscan *Tarhon* "whose name is the basis of the personal name *Tarquinius*". *Tar-hu-na-zi* occurs as the name of two princes of Malatya, see Sargon, *Annals*, lines 178-190. Güterbock, in *Belleten*, VII, 307, 32, does not agree with the opinion held by some scholars that the Luvian *Santas-Tarhun* are weather gods.

³ Contenau, *Manuel d'archéologie orientale*, III, figs. 705, 704; Akurgal, *Späthethitische bildkunst*, Taf. XIVb.

⁴ Contenau, *Les Tablettes de Kerkouk*, 78, no. 128.

⁵ The description of a god given in an Assyrian text, see R. Campbell Thompson, *Devils and Evil*

Spirits of Babylonia, II, 151, could well be applied to the Barberini monster:

"He has the horns of an ox; hair lies (from between the horns)

As far as his shoulders

The face of a man

He has wings; his feet are advancing

The body of a lion with four legs"

Professor C. J. Gadd has kindly referred me to the restoration and retranslation of this passage by F. Köcher in *Mitteilungen des Institute für Orientalforschung*, Band I, 75, where it is shown that the passage refers to the god *Šerum*. It is possible that the god *Seris*, who in the form of a bull attended the Hittite weather-god, may be related.

⁶ Gadd, *Assyrian Sculptures*, 14.

bronze monsters on the Barberini cauldron base were intended to exercise their beneficent powers over any evil influences which might disturb the ritual in which the vessels and stands were used. This suggests that the purpose of these curious figures which display features originating in the Luvian and Hurrian weather gods and the Assyrian "*lamassu*", was purely apotropaic and exemplifies magical beliefs which were centuries old in Mesopotamia and Syria. The Babylonian boundary stones are relevant in this connection as here we find a winged scorpion man with lion's feet, horned headdress, human face and beard, all comparable to those of the Barberini monster, except that he has a real scorpion's body and scorpion's tail¹. Certainly the tail on the Barberini figure which winds round the sacred tree is more like a scorpion's than a lion's and it is conceivable that one of the feet is that of a scorpion. The scorpion man is normally taken as a symbol of the god Ninurta whose usual symbol is a twin lion-headed club and this association of lion and scorpion is also found on the Barberini cauldron base.

The purpose of the griffins and lions on the Barberini cauldron must also be purely apotropaic. Both the lions (one head is restored) and the two open mouthed griffins are attached to the cauldron by rivets. Plate XXVII, 2, shows the side view with the so-called Hittite spiral and the horse ears. Another lock of hair extends down the back of the neck and terminates in a broad arrow-shaped tassel. Curtis has described one of the griffins in detail and states that it is made of hammered bronze plates, but as it is attached to the cauldron it is impossible to tell whether it has a filling of some other material as was clearly true of the griffins of the similar (but fragmentary) cauldron from the Bernardini tomb. Here Curtis states that "the entire figure, consisting of head, neck and base, was formed of a thin plate of metal beaten into shape over a previously prepared mould, probably of wood, and was then filled with a composition which appears to be a mixture of bituminous and an earthy substance. Afterwards certain details were added by means of incised lines of which the impressions remain on the bituminous filling in the places where the bronze covering has been broken away"². The actual filling is photographed in his pl. 53, 2. On the other hand Payne has convincingly shown that the Perachora griffin was certainly cast and the soft core inserted afterwards³, and this fact suggests that the same technique could have been used both for some of the Olympia griffins (previously thought to have been made of hammered bronze sheets) where remains of the core were found, and for the Barberini and Bernardini examples. Certainly the relationship between the

¹ King, *Babylonian Boundary stones*, pl. XIX.

² Curtis, *op. cit.*, III, 66.

³ Payne, *Perachora*, pl. 38 and pp. 126, 127, note 5, where he quotes Plenderleith's opinion that the griffin is cast, not hammered. The fact that the impression of the decoration remains on the bitumen filling is not

proof that the griffin was hammered. Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, 199, shows one of the bronze bulls' heads from the Nimrud throne (now in the British Museum) with the bitumen filling and marks of the decoration. These are certainly cast, and the decorative details added by chasing afterwards.

Olympia griffins (especially nos. 793, 794 and 796), the Perachora example and the Barberini griffin is extremely close and one would suspect that they all originated in the same workshop¹. A griffin head from Athens (Acropolis) now in the Ashmolean Museum (Pl. XXXII, 1) can be placed in this class and the earlier series from Samos (see p. 163) also belong here. An interesting difference is that while Olympia no. 796 has two tresses on each side like the Perachora example, Olympia nos. 793 and 794 have only one like that from the Barberini tomb. In Asia two distinct tresses on griffins are not common; they occur on the ivory griffin and the bronze winged griffin from Toprak Kaleh and at Ziweye (see below) but nowhere else to my knowledge². This is not the place, however, to discuss the numerous examples of bronze griffin protomes found in Greece. Jantzen has collected all the known examples, both published and unpublished, and little can be added to his comprehensive study³. But while he believes that all these griffins were made in Greece and that the Etrurian examples should be regarded as Greek exports, I would suggest that there is considerable evidence which points to Urartu and that part of N. Syria which formed part of the Urartian empire before it was destroyed by Tiglath-pileser III in 742 B.C., as the home of the Barberini and Bernardini griffins and some of the earlier Greek examples. One would then regard the later Etrurian examples, such as the cast griffins from Tarquinia, as copies made by competent local smiths in imitation of the earlier Vannic originals. If this is correct the development in Etruria must have been similar to that put forward by Payne, who suggests that griffin protomes of the Perachora type in Greece are imported from Asia and that the later examples are copies by Greek craftsmen.

Let us now consider the Urartian area of N. Syria where the site of T. Halaf perhaps provides us with the origin of the bronze griffin protomes. Here a large free-standing stone example was found standing on a low eight-leaved acanthus capital comparable to the top of the Barberini base⁴. T. Halaf also provides interesting points to compare with the Barberini base. The flame-shaped pattern on the hindquarters of the winged monster has already been discussed by Barnett in relation to the reliefs from Ankara and it is also found on the Nimrud ivories on the hindquarters of a sphinx⁵. But at T. Halaf practically every relief with animals, birds or composite monsters shows this feature⁶ (Pls. XXX, 2, XXXI, 2) and the bird griffin with scorpion's tail

¹ Furtwängler, *Olympia*, IV. Taf. XLV. Amandry, *Petits objets de Delphes*, in *Bulletin de correspondance Hellénique*, 1944-5, 71, classifies Olympia 794 in his stage II and 796 in his stage III. I cannot agree with this classification. He also states that no griffin protome has been actually found in Asia omitting the Susa example (see p. 162) and the stone griffin protome from Nimrud, Barnett in *J.H.S.*, 1948, pl. XI d.

² *Iraq*, XII, Pt. 1, Pls. XV, 2, and XVIII, Pt. 1. In the drawing in *N. Sc.*, 1908, 433, fig. 14, of the Vetulonia cauldron before it was restored, there is

(5901)

evidence that the griffins here have two tresses.

³ Jantzen, *Griechische Greifenkessel*, 1955.

⁴ Moortgat, *Tell Halaf*, III, pls. 136, 137.

⁵ Barnett in *J.H.S.*, LXVIII, 1948, 10, and in *Iraq*, II, Pt. 2, 1935, p. 191, Fig. 3.

⁶ See also the lions and bulls, Moortgat, *op. cit.*, Taf. 105, 106, 43 b, 44-50. Gazelles, Taf. 51, 55, 65. Lion and bull fighting, Taf. 67. Lion and deer, Taf. 69. Bird griffin with scorpion's tail, Taf. 90 a. Winged griffin, Taf. 90 b. Bull men holding winged disc, Taf. 104, and many other examples.

(Pl. XXXI, 2) is also portrayed with ribbing along its back similar to that on the back of the Barberini monster. The treatment of the face and beard on T. Halaf human-headed animals is also closely similar to the bronze lion sphinx on the Barberini base whose tail is comparable to the Halaf bird-griffin's with scorpion's tail; while even the heavy mane-like comb of short feathers reaching from the beak to the top of the wings which occurs in all the Halaf bird-griffins (and see Pl. XXXI, 2) is represented on the bronze Barberini griffin by the lock of hair on the back of the neck¹.

The best parallel to the stylised tree between the two monsters on the base of the Barberini crater is the tree on the Halaf reliefs where the Ionic volutes are at the base of the trunk and the treatment of the leaves the same (Pl. XXXI, 1). In fact it would seem possible that the metalsmith who made the Barberini cauldron base had seen both the Ivriz relief and the Halaf sculptures and had tried to work in metal scenes he had seen portrayed in stone. Reliefs from other sites in this area such as Carchemish (Pl. XXXII, 2) and Sakçe Gözü again show griffins which may well have formed the prototypes for the Barberini bronze protomes, with the same well marked ribbing round the open mouth and the "Hittite" tress with curved knob on top of the head². But any consideration both of scorpion men and griffins must lead us to Middle Assyrian cylinders of the thirteenth–eleventh centuries B.C. where composite creatures such as winged griffins occur profusely. They are often portrayed each side of the sacred tree and usually as friendly beneficent beings. Frankfort has stressed the dependence of Assyrian seal cutters on Mitannian or one might say Hurrian themes and the sealings from Nuzu demonstrate this fact admirably³. Thus we are led back again to the N. Syrian–Hurrian states and to the religious and magical beliefs of the inhabitants of Hurrian N. Syria, although admittedly in a period earlier than T. Halaf and Carchemish. Another cylinder seal, however, of later date, calls for attention when considering such features of the Barberini base as the knobbed headdress, the pomegranate pattern (discussed below) and the griffins. This is the remarkable cultic seal of Mušeš-Ninurta now in Berlin and discussed recently by Unger along with the Royal seal of Mušeš-Ninurta now in the British Museum⁴. Both seals come from Šadikanni on the Habur in N. Syria; they are provincial Assyrian work but extremely interesting as the Berlin example shows the three features visible on the Barberini cauldron and base. The cultic seal shows a bull-man with knobbed headdress guarded by a griffin-headed genius who wears a pomegranate on a chain round his neck, while on the British Museum seal the

¹ Moortgat, *op. cit.*, Taf. 90 a. Curtis, *op. cit.*, V, pl. 29, shows part of the tress on the back of the griffin's head.

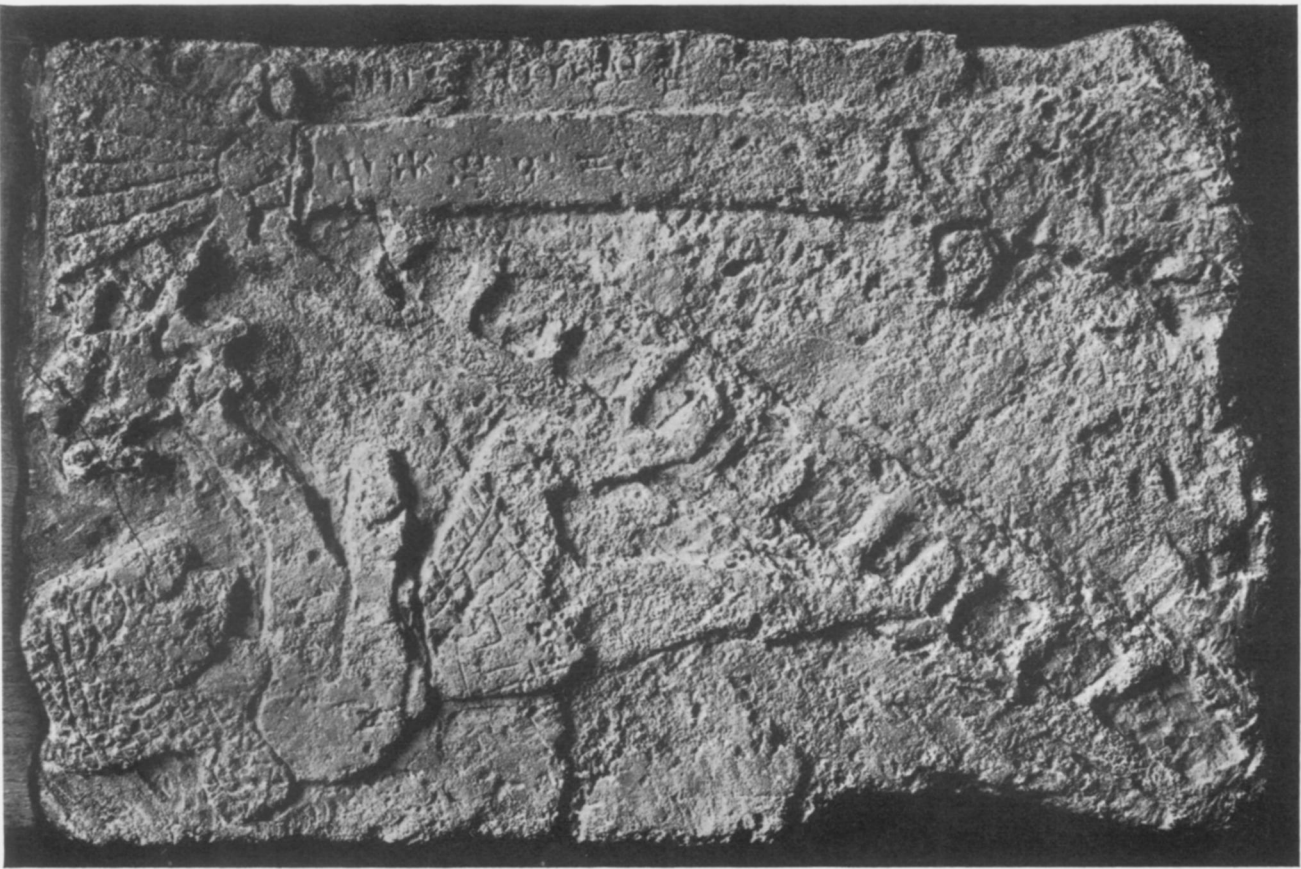
² Akurgal, *op. cit.*, pl. XLIV and XIV a. Woolley and Barnett, *Carchemish*, III, pl. B. 58.

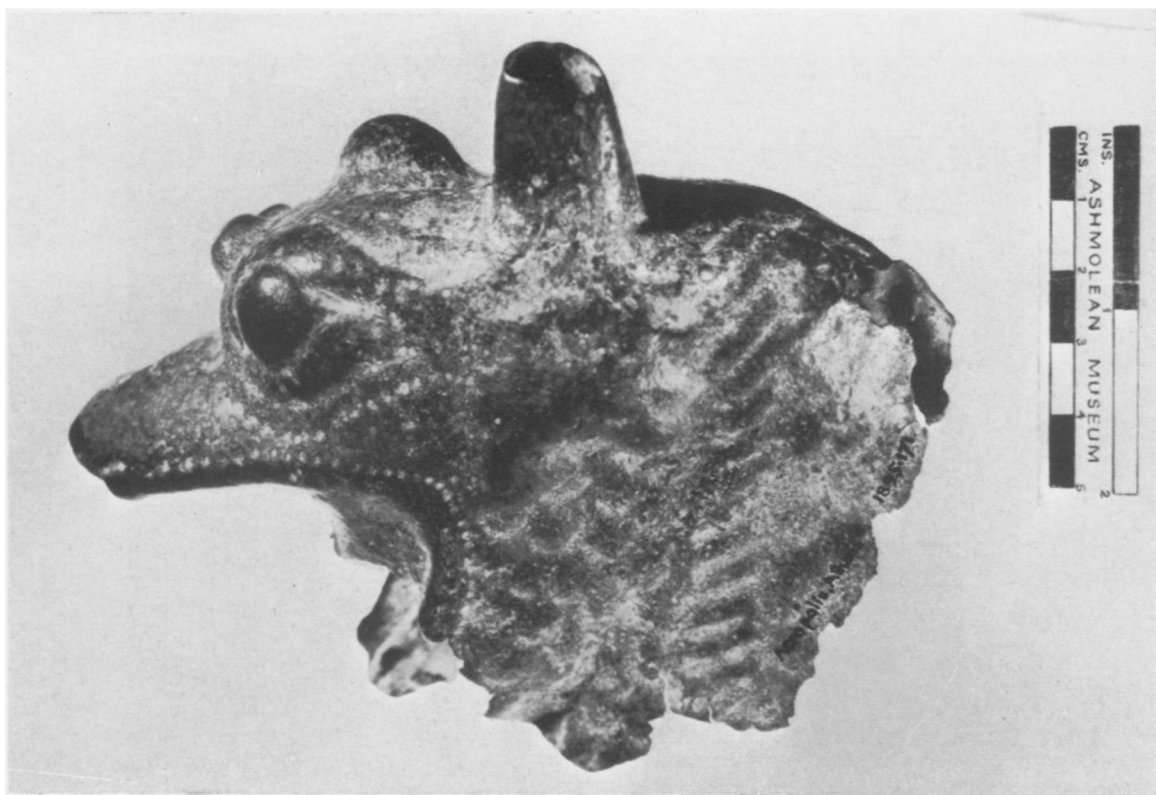
³ Porada and Buchanan, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals*, I, pl. LXXXVI, 609 E, 608 E. Frankfort, *Cylinder seals*, 186 f.

⁴ Unger, in *B.A.S.O.R.*, 130, 15.



Reliefs from Tell Halaf. British Museum.





1



2

1. Head of a griffin. Bronze. From the Acropolis, Athens. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.
(Photo: Ashmolean Museum.)
2. Relief from Carchemish.

ritual is taking place in front of a clearly executed pomegranate tree. As Unger has convincingly shown, these seals belonged to Mušeš-Ninurta, the grandson of Samanuḫa-šar-ilāni, a prince of Šadikanni mentioned by Aššur-našir-pal II in the year 883 B.C. and can therefore be dated c. 850 B.C. It is important to realise that we can find parallels in N. Syria and Mesopotamia for so many of those fantastic creatures who occur in Etruria with every detail faithfully reproduced. The cylinders show griffins, winged human figures with bird heads and griffin demons with buckets engaged in the sacred tree ritual, as well as curious panther-headed animals sometimes with flames coming out of their mouths, or with protruding tongues. All these monsters can be found in Etruria, and the bronze panther protome from a chariot now in the Antiquarium at Munich¹ portrays faithfully the dragon-headed griffin known both on Middle Assyrian cylinders and also on the Kassite boundary stones where it appears as the eagle-headed sceptre associated with the god Ninurta.

Carchemish provides us with another interesting clue to the purpose of the animals on the Barberini cauldrons. Barnett has pointed out that the winged semi-human figure who is evidently concerned in an anointing ritual with the king is holding a bucket with attachments in the form of the winged sirens discussed above². The head of this figure is lost but presumably was an eagle-headed griffin demon similar to those known on Assyrian sculptures and seals engaged in the sacred tree ritual.

The lion head, like the griffin, is stated by Curtis to be made of hammered bronze but may, on the analogy of Perachora, be cast. It can most easily be compared to the Vannic bronze lions published by Barnett, which were certainly cast, to the colossal Assyrian lion in the British Museum dating from Aššur-našir-pal's reign and to the stone lions from Göllüdağ where the treatment of the whiskers is executed in stone in the style used by the Barberini metal smith³. Curtis has pointed out that one of the original lion's heads was originally in a fragmentary state with the face missing and was extensively restored. Garucci's drawing in *Archaeologia*, XLI, presumably shows the complete head before it was attached to the cauldron by the restorer⁴.

The use of lion's heads combined with griffins to decorate the cauldron raises many questions. The most likely explanation is that the cauldron and base were used in a ritual which must have taken place either in or outside the tomb before the corpse was buried and the use of the lion in this context may be a distant reflection of the Babylonian and Assyrian magical beliefs that certain evil spirits and demons of sickness should be portrayed with a lion's head. Again the association of the lion with the god Nergal, lord of the underworld, who was the master of fifteen evil demons may have been reflected in the

¹ Muhlestein, *Die Kunst der Etrusker*, pls. 114, 115.

² *Carchemish*, III, pl. A 21a and B 35c.

³ *Iraq*, XII, Pt. 1, Pl. XI, British Museum, *Assyrian* (5901)

sculptures, reign of Aššur-našir-pal, pl. VI, Akurgal, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXV.

⁴ *Archaeologia*, XLI, pt. 1, 200.

Barberini ritual. In this connection the treatment of the head of the demon Pazuzu on the plaque from Nimrud¹ is worth noting. Here the demon is portrayed with a lion's head and two curled tresses similar to those we have noted on the Barberini and Perachora griffins. He has a scorpion's feet and tail and is winged. The plaque can be dated as it was found smashed in the palace of Aššur-našir-pal II which we know was partially destroyed towards the end of the eighth century B.C. Other significant features of this plaque include a tripod with large cauldron and the lion headed female demon Lamaštu holding snakes who invites comparison with the Etruscan demon Tuchulcha. The latter is shown in a mural painting in the Tomba dell 'Orco at Tarquinia². Also, on the Nimrud and on another Assyrian plaque in the Collection de Clercq in the Louvre a line of priests with lion headdresses are taking part in the ritual to exorcise the demons of sickness³. It may well be that the Barberini cauldron and base were used in an Etruscan ritual whose details may not have differed much, and which may indeed have been directly derived, from the Assyrian⁴.

The question of the route used by the metalsmiths who brought Urartian bronzes to Etruria calls for some discussion. In this there is little doubt of the importance of Crete. The close relationship between the Barberini base and the "Zeus" shield (or tympanum) from the Idaean cave in Crete has already been noted by Kunze and Barnett⁵. But there are now further indications which point to an Urartian origin not only for the Barberini cauldron base but also for the "Zeus" shield. The pomegranate design round the top of the Barberini base is also found on the Cretan plaque as well as on the gold disc from Toprak Kale and the gold plaque from Ziwiye in Persian Azerbaijan⁶. Since Herzfeld first suggested that the Zeus tympanum should be regarded as Urartian work, its Vannic and Iranian connections have become more evident and its relationship not only to the Ziwiye treasure (discussed below) but to the plaque from Surkh Dum in Luristan cannot be denied⁷. It can therefore be regarded as an important link between Iran and the West, with Vannic smiths acting as the natural intermediaries between Luristan, North Iran, and Etruria. A fragment of a cauldron base from Olympia depicting two winged figures

¹ *I.L.N.*, July 29th, 1950, 181, fig. 6.

² Pallottino, *The Etruscans* (Pelican Books), 24. For a detailed study of the representations of Charun see F. de Ruyt, *Charun Demon Etrusque de la Mort*, Rome, 1954.

³ Contenau, *op. cit.*, I, 251, fig. 152.

⁴ Another point worth noting is the fact that at Vetulonia the griffin cauldrons were found resting on a bronze wheeled table and inside the cauldron was found a bronze cinerary urn. A seal impression from Van shows a comparable wheeled object, obviously intended for ritual use and the Cypriote bronze wheeled stands and the well known example

from Capodimonte, Bisenzio now in the Villa Giulia museum may well have been used in a similar ritual. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, II, 580, *N. Sc.*, 1928, Tav. VIII. See also the bronze wheeled stands from *T. Halaf*, Von Oppenheim (English edition), pl. LXIII B, and from Van, Przeworski, *Die Metall-industrie Anatoliens*, Taf. XII, 3 a and b.

⁵ Kunze, *op. cit.*, 1931, 236 f, and Taf. 49. Barnett in *Iraq*, XII, Pt. 1, p. 39.

⁶ Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, II, 1, 265. Godard, *Le trésor de Ziwiye*, fig. 10.

⁷ Dussaud in *Syria*, 26, 1949, pl. X, fig. 7.

similar to the Cretan tympanum must be another example of this important group of Vannic bronze work showing Iranian influence and exported to the West¹. In this connection the remarkable Ziwiye treasure needs further consideration. Here, on the gold pectoral the same pomegranate pattern can be found and also features such as the griffin with Phoenician apron, which also occur in Etruria². Godard and Ghirshmann have made detailed studies of this treasure and discussed its relation to Assyrian and Scythian art and have also pointed out its connections with T. Halaf to the West and Luristan to the South East. Its importance for any study of the origins of Etruscan metallurgy, however, has not yet received attention. Godard, after mentioning the pectoral from the Regolini Galassi Tomb now in the Vatican Museum continues "A Ziwiye, bien entendu il ne s'agit pas d'anciens contacts avec l'Etrurie". But can we be so definite about this? As well as the pomegranate pattern border we find the curious flame pattern on the hindquarters of the Ziwiye winged bull-man, the winged bulls and the lions, carefully executed in the same technique as on the Barberini base, the Halaf monsters, the Nimrud ivory plaque and the Ankara reliefs discussed above³. The gold griffin protome (Godard, fig. 30) considered by Godard to be a Scythian import, has the two curled tresses we have noted, both on the Perachora griffin and also on the Urartian ivory and bronze examples. This feature occurs again on the griffin heads of the Vetulonia bronze cauldron, now in the Florence Museum, and would suggest an Urartian rather than a Scythian origin for the Ziwiye griffin.

Since Herzfeld wrote stressing the important part played by Urartian metallurgy in Western Asia and Lehmann-Haupt pointed out that its influence reached as far as Etruria, we have a great deal more evidence to reinforce these views. Recent studies, by Hanfmann, Barnett and Clark Hopkins, have made significant contributions to the problem of both Urartian-Etrurian and also Iranian-Etrurian connections⁴, the existence of which cannot be doubted. The Barberini base and cauldron, the Bernardini cauldron stand and the bowl with tripod stand, the Vetulonia cauldrons and the Olympia and Perachora griffin protomes discussed above are Urartian products and must have been imported into Greece and Etruria as objects which were essential for the performance of the rituals which were observed by the priests of those areas. They must have been executed by craftsmen who were familiar with the religious and magical beliefs reflected in the rituals for which they were intended. In Italy these bronzes stand out as undoubted imports; technically they are an

¹ *J.D.A.I.*, 52, 1937, 71, fig. 32, and pl. 20, 1. See also D. Levi, *Gleanings from Crete*, in *A.J.A.*, XLIX, 324.

² See the silver chest in the Tomba del Duce, MacIver, *op. cit.*, pl. 22, 4.

³ The lion and the boar on the 'Hunters' shield

from the Idaean cave also show a stylised version of the flame pattern on their hindquarters.

⁴ Hanfmann, *Origin of Etruscan sculpture* in *Critica d'Arte*, 1937. Barnett in *Compte Rendu* 1952, *Rencontre Assyriologique internationale*, 10. Clark Hopkins, *Oriental Evidence for Early Etruscan chronology* in *Berytus*, XI, 2, 1955.

innovation with no precedent among Villanovan work. A distinct difference, however, can be discerned in the Regolini Galassi cauldrons with lions' heads, one of which is illustrated here (Pl. XXXIII, 1). Here the workmanship is inferior and the lions treated in a non-Asiatic fashion. It must be a copy, made by a local smith, himself perhaps trained by an Asiatic craftsman¹. It is not necessary to mention other Etruscan bronzes obviously imitating or influenced by oriental prototypes. But the well-known tripod from the Loeb collection is important as it shows that even in the sixth century B.C. when Etruscan metal-smiths were producing magnificent objects with relief decoration influenced by Greek art, Vannic techniques were still used. The bull's feet and the leaves on which the cauldron rests are also executed in an Urartian style similar to the Barberini cauldron base². The fact that these bronzes were used in rituals reflecting the religious beliefs of the leaders of the Etrurian communities established in Italy and that they were copied faithfully in terracotta suggests that these beliefs continued and spread to other sections of the population.

The importance of cheek pieces and bits of Luristan type in Italy was emphasised by Hanfmann and Clark Hopkins' paper has stressed the importance of N. Syria as a link between Luristan and the West. But Luristan cannot have remained unaffected by the important trade route from Susa which, as Barnett has shown, led northwards via Luristan and Kirmanshah to Sakkiz in Azerbaijan and on to Van, then continuing to Trebizond on the Black Sea. If, as Barnett suggests, this route was the chief means of contact between Iran and the West, then the Iranian elements discernible in early Villanovan and Italic bronze work discussed by Hopkins are explained and the Black Sea route to Etruria from Van must already have been in use in the eighth century and possibly earlier. Its importance may well have increased after 742 B.C. when the other important route from Van to the West via N. Syria, using Al Mina as a port, discussed by Sidney Smith (see p. 151), may have become unusable owing to the Assyrian destruction of Urartian political dominance in N. Syria. Against this background the presence of the remarkable dagger in the Bernardini tomb with the amber handle and gold binding, obviously closely related to the Persian bronze daggers with bronze winged pommels from Azerbaijan, Luristan, and Susa, can be understood (Pl. XXXIV, 1-3).³ Its European carp's tongue blade has been discussed by Professor Hencken in an article on a similar dagger from Caracupa⁴, and that Etruria should be the area where Western and Eastern influence meet and a craftsman produce a weapon with an Iranian shaped hilt and European shaped blade is not surprising. Another important link between Susa and the West is the occurrence in a level, dated by Jéquier to the time of king Šilhak-inšuš-inak (1165-1151 B.C.), of a

¹ This was suggested to me by Professor Banti in 1955.

² Chase in *A.J.A.*, 1908, pl. XII.

³ See also list in Iraq VIII, pl. 1, p. 51.

⁴ Hencken, *A two looped socketed axe of the 7th century B.C.* in *P.P.S.*, 1952, 121.



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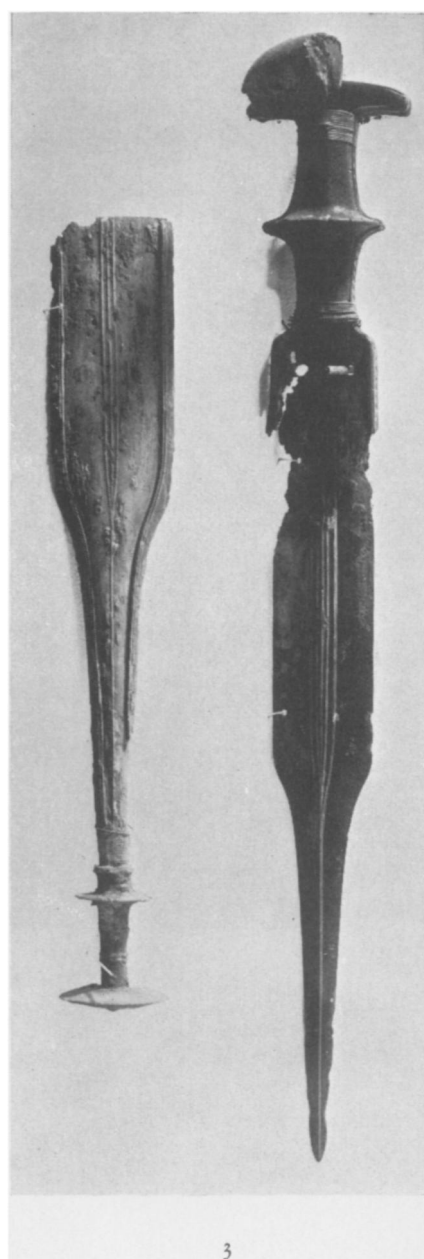
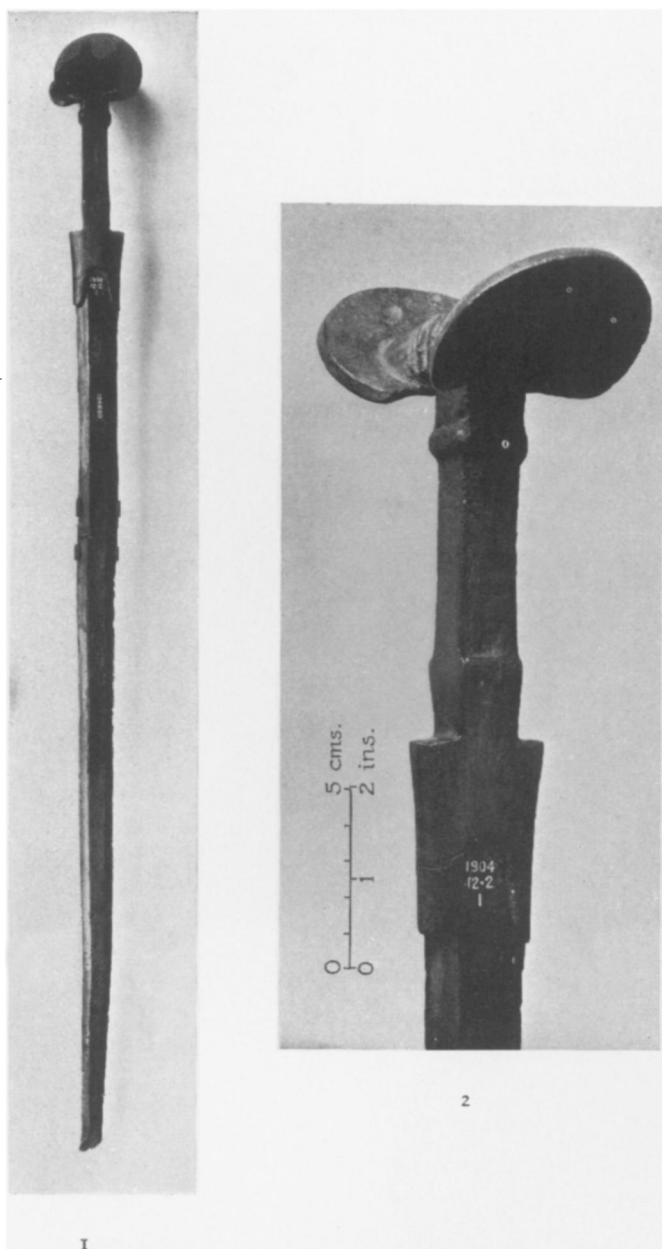


4



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1. Cauldron with five lion heads. Bronze. Diameter 47 cm. Depth 33 cm. From Cerveteri, Regolini Galassi tomb. Rome, Vatican Museum.
- 2, 3. Fluted bowls. Bronze. Diameter 22 cm. From Cerveteri, Regolini Galassi tomb.
- 4, 5. Winged figure attached to a cauldron. Bronze. Height from base of wing to top of helmet 15.4 cm. Vetulonia. Florence, Archaeological Museum.



1, 2. Sword from Ardebil, Persia. Bronze. British Museum (length: 75.3 cm.)

3. Bronze dagger, with amber handle surrounded by a gold band. Length 37.5 cm. From Praeneste, Bernardini tomb. Sheath, silver, 4.4 cm. wide. Rome, Pigorini Museum.

4. Bronze spouted vase from Samos.

bronze griffin protome similar to the Barberini example¹. Unfortunately we cannot use the stratification of the early Susa excavations as reliable dating evidence. On the other hand, if the protome does not date from this period, which immediately precedes the decline of Susa, the only other likely date would be the period 700-640 B.C. which saw a brief period of Elamite revival, ending in Ashurbanipal's sack of the city. How far Iranian influence could travel in the late eighth and seventh centuries B.C. is shown by the fact that the half and quarter rosettes, so admirably shown by Barnett to have originated on textiles in Susa in Iran and traced by him via Azerbaijan-Urartu-Rhodes and Corinth, occur in Crete on an orientalisising vase with griffins from Arkades² and finally on Etruscan bucchero ware³. Another interesting type of bucchero vase is supported by female figures with curled wings and bearing ropes over their heads similar to those on the Luristan votive plaques from Surkh Dum, another instance of Iranian influence in Etruria, in this case continuing as late as the seventh-sixth century B.C.⁴

When did this influence begin? There are in fact arguments for a conclusion that contact with the East had occurred many centuries earlier. I have already suggested that connections existed between the Talish region and the early bronze work of Populonia and much work remains to be done on this subject. Earlier still we have the Iranian form of the lugged adze turning up on the coast of Etruria (a form which we know was actually being cast in Troy) and I have discussed other connections between Italy and the Eastern Mediterranean dating from about the end of the twelfth century in another article⁵. Some scholars would be prepared to see here indications of Asiatic-Italian contract attributable to the Sea raiders, with their Asiatic cut-and-thrust swords, amongst whom we can number the earliest Etruscan invaders. If these arguments are accepted, it would follow that these first invaders, who may well have originated as far away as Eastern Anatolia and Transcaucasia, were followed up by settlers and metalsmiths from the Urartu-Azerbaijan region who kept in touch with their original homeland and naturally stimulated trade between the two widely separated areas.

Thus in the eighth century, when Vannic influence was paramount in N. Syria, began the export of her products to Greece and to Etruria, and in Etruria to communities which had been established there at least one or two centuries earlier. Greece was thus not an intermediary for this trade at first; it is in the next century, the seventh, usually called the Orientalising period in Etruria, where the Greek trade provides the additional impetus to this traffic. We can therefore regard the seventh century B.C. in Italy not as the beginning

¹ D.P.M., VII, 37, fig. 39.

² Matton, *La Crète Antique*, pl. XXVII, 71.

³ Giglioli, *L'Arte Etrusca*, 1935, Tav. XLIII, 6.

⁴ Giglioli, *op. cit.*, Tav. XLII, 6.

⁵ See K. R. Maxwell-Hyslop, *Bronze lugged axe and adze blades from Asia in Iraq*, XV, Pt. 1, Fig. 3, p. 79, and *Notes on some Bronzes from Populonia*, in P.P.S., forthcoming.

of the "Orientalising period" but actually the culminating point of a process which had been going on for a much longer time.

The foregoing conclusions which are based on purely archaeological evidence, form a link with Sir Gavin de Beer's view of the origin of the Etruscans founded on important anthropological evidence which, as he points out, has in the past been largely ignored¹. The Armenoid type, of which we can find so many examples in Early Etruscan Art, is to be found at home in Urartu and in the areas controlled by her in North Syria, where presumably there must have been a certain number of Urartian settlers. The type is much in evidence both in Luristan and again at Karatepe, the capital of the Danunim. It is of course well known on Egyptian reliefs of the sea raiders and suggests that people from Transcaucasia and Armenia formed an important element of the raiders' strength. H. R. Hall considered the Shardana to have come from the Caucasus and one cannot avoid the tempting conclusion that as Sir Gavin de Beer suggests, the Etruscans must likewise have come along the Black Sea from Eastern Asia Minor and that the two historically known waves of raiders may well have been succeeded by further movements from the same area. This might explain the curious similarity between the group of statuettes usually classed with Luristan bronzes but actually found north of Luristan in the Kirmanshah area, and some of the Sardinian statuettes².

Finally, the Black Sea route linking Susa-Luristan-Azerbaijan-Urartu with Etruria leads one to consider the position of Samos, which, presumably situated on this route and profiting from the traffic, played an important part. As well as producing the ivory head of a bearded man which can be compared with three similar examples from the Barberini tomb³, it has also yielded a bronze spouted vase of Luristan type, and typical of Tepe Sialk, Cemetery B (Pl. XXXIV, 4)⁴. Jantzen has shown also that Samos was an important centre for the production of bronze griffin protomes, and I would suggest that his earlier series must have been made by Asiatic craftsmen, and that the later examples should be regarded as the products of locally trained smiths, who, while first copying the earlier Urartian models, eventually produced the magnificent cast examples which became typical of early Greek workmanship.

But now let us return to the route from Van to the West via N. Syria and Al Mina and the Mediterranean, first suggested by Sidney Smith and referred to at the beginning of this article. The part played by Crete needs no further elaboration; it has been admirably discussed by Kunze and others.

¹ *Sur les origines des Etrusques*, in *Revue des Arts*, No. 3, 1955.

² *Survey of Persian Art*, IV, pl. 73. Their relation to the terracotta warriors from Ajia Irini in Cyprus is a problem which should be studied.

³ Curtis, *op. cit.*, V, pl. 10, 10-12.

⁴ Buschor, *Eine Luristan-Kanne auf Samos* in *Forschung und Fortschritte*, 1 May, 1932, Nr. 13, Abb. 2. I am indebted to the author for permission to publish this photograph. The bronze spiked axe-head of Luristan type found in Crete is another instance of trade between Iran and the West, see Bossert, *Geschichte des Kunstgewerbes*, III, 389.

But the position of Cyprus has hitherto been ambiguous and although Gjerstad has pointed out some undoubted Cypriote-Etrurian links, there is much work to be done on this subject¹. A few important points may be briefly noted here. Firstly we have in Cyprus examples of the bronze winged sirens, but with a bull's, not a human head, of a type which can be found among Urartian bronzes at Altin Tepe and Karmirblau, and also in Samos². In Etruria they occur on a bronze tripod of undoubted Urartian type from Cerveteri³ which can be put into the same class as the other imported Urartian bronzes already discussed.

Another interesting link can be discerned in the numerous bronze fluted bowls found in the Regolini-Galassi (Pl. XXXIII, 2, 3), Bernardini and Barberini tombs, which also occur at Vetulonia in the Second Circle of Le Pellicie, and the Tomba del Duce⁴. These are all distinguished by their flat base with raised ring and differ from the majority of Asiatic fluted bowls where an omphalos base is more common. The flared rim, however, can be compared with the bronze bowl from Ashur dated by its inscription to 805 B.C.⁵ but the best Asiatic prototype for these bowls is found at T. Halaf where a stone example has the same flutings and raised ring base⁶. Cyprus again forms the link between the mainland and Etruria as a similar bronze bowl with flutings and base ring was found at Idalion in the Sanctuary and from a level with other cult offerings dated to Cypro-Archaic II⁷. In this connection the remarkable bowl from Capena with rampant winged lions executed in an undoubted Urartian style which also shows the ring base must be mentioned⁸. Finally it remains to mention the bronze bowl with lotus handles found inside the Bernardini cauldron whose origin has been traced to Cyprus. Many examples are found there⁹, the earliest dating from Cypro-Geometric II period, *i.e.*, c. 950-800 B.C. (Gjerstad's dating), but they continued in use for many years and Gjerstad thinks they are all of Cypriote manufacture.¹⁰ But Urartian influence is again noticeable in the shape of the bulls' heads on the handles.

There is much to be said about contact between Cyprus and Etruria after the Urartian trade had ceased, but it falls outside the scope of this article. It is the important intermediate position of Cyprus in this trade that I have tried to stress when discussing the two main trade routes along which the Vannic objects found in the Etruscan tombs must have travelled.

¹ Gjerstad, *Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, IV, 339 ff.

² Gjerstad, *ibid.*, II, pl. CLXXIX, 290. From Idalion. Barnett and Watson in *Iraq*, XIV, Pt. 2, p. 137, fig. 8. Barnett and Gökçe in *A.S.*, III, pl. XIV. Jantzen, *op. cit.*, Tav. 60.

³ Giglioli, *op. cit.*, Taf. XXII, 3.

⁴ Curtis, *op. cit.*, III, pl. 47; V, pls. 42, 43. MacIver, *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, pls. 22 and 24.

⁵ Andrae, *Das wiedererstandene Assur*, Taf. 63, c.

⁶ Oppenheim, *Tell Halaf* (English edition), pl. XLIX, A.5.

⁷ *S.C.E.*, II, pl. CLXXX, Type 6. Gjerstad begins his Cypro-Archaic II period c. 600 B.C., but see *B.A.S.O.R.*, 138, 37, where Van Beek suggests an earlier date, c. 750 B.C., for the beginning of Cypro-Archaic II.

⁸ Giglioli, *op. cit.*, pl. ix, 2.

⁹ *S.C.E.*, IV, 407.

¹⁰ These lotus-bud handles must originate in Phoenicia or Syria; see Jacobstal, *Greek Pins*, 47, 49 and fig. 211 which shows the handle of an ivory bowl from Nimrud.

In conclusion certain aspects of the chronological problems must be mentioned. The tombs where the metalwork we have identified as Urartian has been found are all at present dated in the early part of the seventh century, c. 675-650 B.C. I do not propose to discuss the reasons for this view, which have been argued *in extenso* by Pallottino, Byvank, Pareti and many others. But a few remarks concerning the chronological conclusions that can be drawn from the Urartian bronzes may not be amiss. The stylistic connections we have discussed above, between the Barberini base and the Halaf, Carchemish and Ivriz reliefs belong to the ninth-eighth centuries; and we have very little evidence for the activities of Vannic metalsmiths in the seventh century outside their homeland of Armenia and Transcaucasia¹. Urartian control of N. Syria was broken by Tiglath-pileser III in 742 B.C. and the Urartian objects must have been taken to Italy by metalsmiths who were then in a position to train local craftsmen to copy their goods in the same way as the local Etrurian potters of Blakeway's Class C copied the earlier Greek pots which were either made by Greek workmen in Etruria or were definite imports from Greece. Blakeway's divisions of the Greek pottery in Etruria into four distinct classes is an admirable model of what should be done for the bronzes when we have further technical evidence at our disposal². So far we can only suggest a tentative distinction between bronzes undoubtedly made by foreign craftsmen and local copies, and suggest that the Urartian bronzes we have identified must have been brought by their makers to Italy from the N. Syrian region of the Urartian empire either before or immediately after, the trade route from Van to the west was blocked by the Assyrians. And no great period of time can have separated the final reduction of Urartian power in N. Syria in 742 B.C. when the inland trade ceased, and the arrival of the smiths. It is true that the dynastic line of Urartian kings continued after the Assyrian conquests, but after Sargon's Armenian campaign in 714 B.C. it would seem that the kingdom was then in decline, crippled by the Cimmerian invasions, and we can hardly attribute any extensive Urartian trade to that period. In the seventh century it is the Iranian rather than the Urartian influence which can be detected in Etruria, and it is at the same time that Phoenician and Greek products begin to flood the Etruscan market.

From these conclusions two controversial suggestions arise. First, the Etruscans must already have arrived in Etruria by the tenth-ninth centuries B.C. at the latest; secondly, the earliest Greek Geometric pottery, if Blakeway's early dates can now be accepted, must have been imported into Etruria by the middle of the ninth century and Greek merchants were therefore supplying

¹ See Barnett in *Iraq*, XII, Pt. 1, p. 37, where he dates the Toprak Kale bronzes to the end of the eighth century B.C. with exception of the shields. For Vannic metalwork of the seventh century see Barnett

and Watson, *Russian excavations in Armenia, Iraq*, XIV, Pt. 2, pp. 132-147, 2.

² Blakeway, *Greek commerce with the West*, 800-600 B.C., *Annual of the British School at Athens*, XXXIII, and "Demaratus", *Journal of Roman Studies*, 25, 1935.

an established Etruscan market. It is generally assumed that the chieftains whose elaborate equipment¹ is known to us from the unpublished inhumation graves in the Villa Giulia Museum with crested helmets, round shields and other weapons, horsebits and a mass of bronze work, were Etruscans, and it is in tombs containing similar bronze work at Veii, Bisenzio and Tarquinia (naming only the most important sites) that we find the Greek imports. The importance of the Al Mina-Cyprus-Crete-Etruria route cannot be overestimated. Greek pottery appears at Al Mina by 800 B.C. and possibly earlier. The sudden appearance of Vannic bronzes such as griffin protomes, siren figures, etc., in Greece and the Aegean can also perhaps be explained both by the departure of smiths from N. Syria and the efficient operation of the trade route, probably by Greek sailors. There is no sign of Phoenician participation here. That comes later in the seventh century when the overland trade in bronzes ceased and ivories and silver bowls from coastal workshops find their way in increasing numbers to Etruria. If the Bernardini, Barberini and Regolini Galassi tombs are to be dated to the early seventh century, then I would suggest that the Urartian bronzes belong to the eighth century and must have been several generations old when placed in the tombs. I have attempted to show in another paper that the early chamber tombs and the fossa graves at Populonia can be dated to the tenth century; they contain material of Pallottino's period Archaic I dated by same authorities to the tenth-ninth centuries B.C.² It also seems possible that some of the Populonia fossa graves and early chamber tombs should be attributed to early Etruscan settlers. If this earlier dating at Populonia is correct some of the Olmo Bello and Capodimonte tombs, and the Veii tombs No. 779 and 785 all containing Greek pottery should perhaps be dated in the ninth instead of the eighth centuries and a corresponding heightening of chronology on other sites can be attempted. The Warrior's tomb at Tarquinia, the Tomba del Duce at Vetulonia, the Bernardini and Barberini tombs, and finally the Regolini Galassi tomb could therefore be dated perhaps fifty or seventy-five years earlier than they now are, *i.e.*, the Warrior's tomb should be dated well back into the eighth century, (a suggestion already made by Clark Hopkins) and the Bernardini and Barberini tombs towards the end of the eighth century, say c. 725 B.C. But until there is complete agreement on the dating of Greek protogeometric and geometric pottery and further excavation on Etruscan coastal sites is undertaken, the chronological problems in Italy from the tenth to the seventh centuries will still remain unsolved.

¹ This equipment is shown on the "Hunters" shield from Mount Ida in Crete and on the Bronze quiver and belt from Knossos, Kunze, *op. cit.*, 1950, Taf. 10-19, and Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, pl. XI, 2, 3. The close resemblance between the helmet, belt and short tunic of the "warrior" relief on the Boghazköy gate with that worn by the soldiers on the Cretan bronzes raises the question whether in

fact the Boghazköy relief may not belong to the same period, *i.e.*, eighth century B.C.; the Transcaucasian analogies to the axehead certainly reinforce this suggestion.

² *Notes on some bronzes from Populonia* in P.P.S., forthcoming. Professor Hencken's views on the date of Pallottino's period Archaic I in Italy were expressed to me in a letter dated May, 1956.

Addendum

Since writing this article I have visited the Museum at Olympia and E. Kunze, *Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia*, Berlin, 1956, has appeared giving a photograph (Abb 37-8) of the remarkable bronze plaque with a bearded Asiatic figure executed in repoussée and in a North Syrian-S.E. Anatolian style. There is little that can be added to Kunze's discussion of this plaque, whose style he compares to the King's statue at Malatya, to figures on the reliefs from Sakçe Gözü, Zenjirli and to the rock relief at Ivriz. Kunze also lists the siren figures (and other bronzes) from Olympia which he considers undoubted imports (p. 81, note 11). These siren figures are closely comparable to the Vetulonia examples and can be contrasted with others from Olympia which are obviously Greek copies of Urartian originals. The occurrence at Olympia of so many imported Urartian bronzes, including the plaque mentioned above, is extremely important evidence which reinforces the suggestions made in this article and also serves to emphasise that the scale of Urartian trade to the West must have been much larger than has hitherto been suspected.